2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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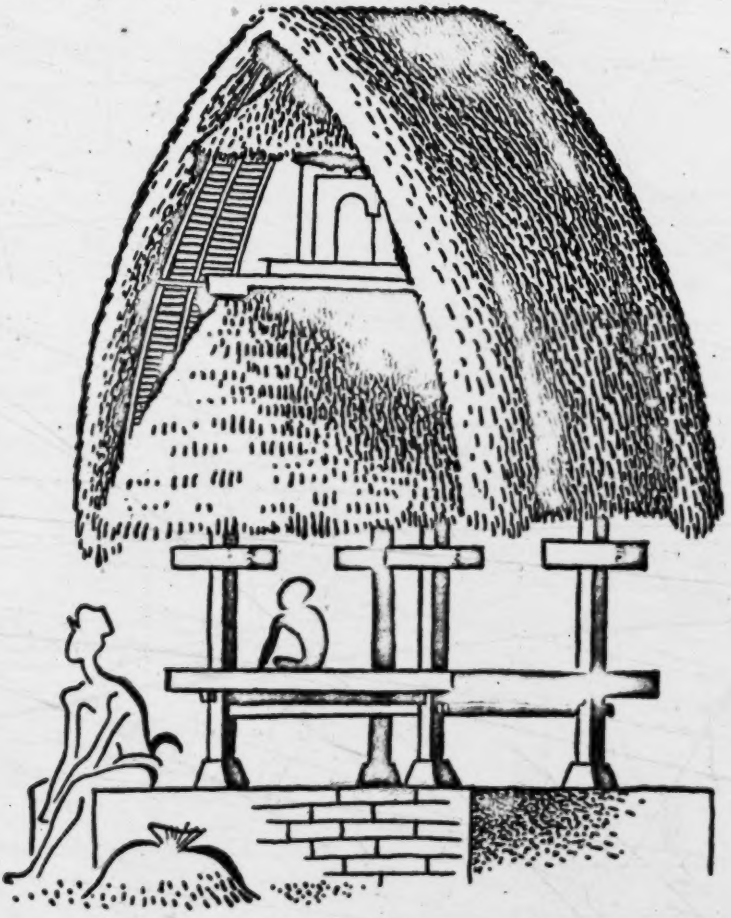
243 527 7[illegible]8 531 representing moons, stylized girls, trees, and so forth, cut out of the mature leaves of palm, dark green lace against a background of lemon yellow.

●[343]



A Granary (*Lumbung*)

243 527 782 The crowd started for the village in a long procession with music. The women carried the offerings and the Rice Mothers on their heads. The men wore hats freshly woven of coconut

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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leaf, bristling with flowers and ferns. The parade stopped at the village temple, where the decorated sheaves were blessed by the temple guardian. This ceremony was called *mendak nini*, "to bring back the Mother." Each family took its Rice Mother to its own granary, which was also decorated with *penyors* and *lamaks* to receive it. The Rice Mothers were deposited on cushions on special wooden thrones inside the granaries, and I was told that they would remain there until eaten by rats. Not even famine could justify eating the rice of the *nini*; whoever ate the Rice Mother would be considered as low as a dog. After the ceremony the cut rice was brought home to be stored in the granary until needed.

The rice granaries (called according to size and shape *lumbung*, *glebeg*, *djinan*, *klumpu*, and *klimking* in the order of their importance) are a good indication of the economic status of a family. They are tall buildings with steep, high roofs of thatch resembling the Melanesian yam houses in shape. A granary is supported by four wooden pillars with wide circular capitals to prevent rats from climbing up. Custom demands respectful handling of rice. It must be fetched in silence and only in the daytime. A person who climbs into a granary should be in a normal state of physical and spiritual health and may not chew betel-nut.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR

In Bali one may see a woman laying bricks or breaking stones to pave a road, or find men in the market in Den Pasar sitting at their sewing-machines making blouses for women, but it would be unthinkable for a woman to paint a picture or to climb a coconut tree; a man would be disgraced if seen performing work that is the perquisite of women.

The labour allotted to each sex is sharply defined; all heavy work requiring manly attributes — agriculture, building in wood or thatch, the care of cattle — as well as most of the trades and crafts, such as carpentry, wood- and stone-carving, painting, writ-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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342 coconut wood. Generally one or two sides of the *balé* are protected by a low wall and between the house posts are built-in beds or platforms of wood with springs of bamboo, also called [352] [574] [513] *balés*, where distinguished guests sit cross-legged to eat, or where, with a mattress added and screened by a curtain, they are put up for the night.

512 231 In Belaluan everybody was up even before the first rays of the sun outlined the jagged tops of the coconut palms, awakened by the raucous crowings of the fighting cocks. In the indigo semi-darkness of the dawn the women were busily sweeping the yard and bringing water from the village spring. The first thought of the men was for their pets; to line up the bell-shaped cages of the fighting cocks out on the road by the gate so that the roosters might "amuse themselves watching people go by." The cages of the cooing doves were strung up on high poles for them to enjoy the morning air and the sunshine, and the flocks of pigeons, trained to fly in circles over the house, were released for their morning exercise. As protection from birds of prey, they had small brass bells around their necks that produced various humming sounds as they flew round and round until they tired, when they came down to be fed.

512 [515] [264] After a refreshing bath the men started for the fields without breakfast, taking along a snack — rice boiled inside of little diamond-shaped containers of palm-leaf called *ketipat*. More substantial food was taken to them later if they had to remain in the fields all day, but they returned at noon for lunch if there was not much work or if the *sawas* were near. Meanwhile the women fetched sheaves of unhusked rice from the granary, spread them on the ground to dry in the sun, filled the *gebah* — the large water-basin in the kitchen — and started the fire for the day's cooking.

● [343] A kitchen is a simple roof of coarse thatch supported by four posts, with a bamboo platform at one end — the kitchen table — and a primitive mud stove at the other. Often a crude figure is 532 778 modelled out of the same clay of which the hearth is made to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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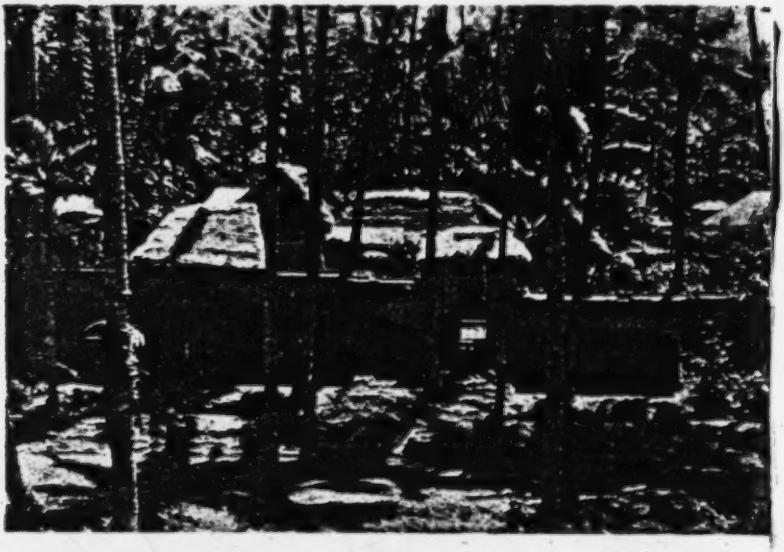

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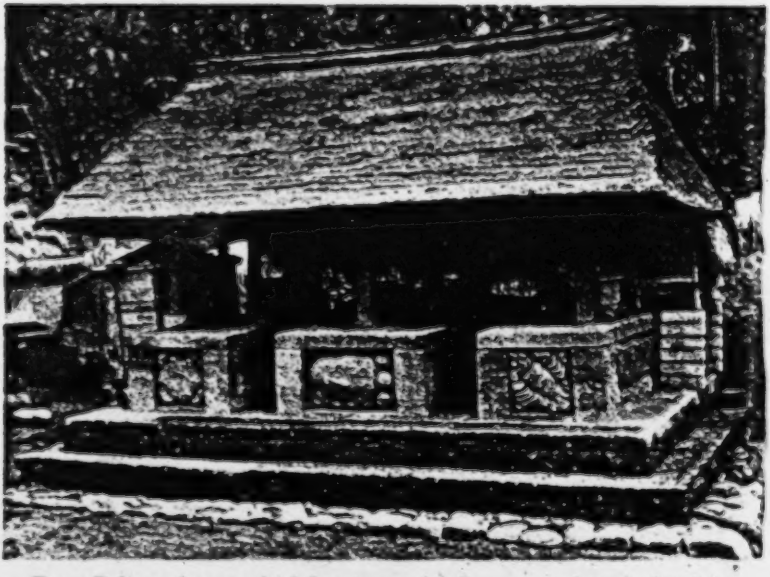

Every Balinese home, which houses one family or a number of related families in its many pavilions, is surrounded by a wall of whitewashed mud

Not all Balinese kitchens are as elaborate as this, with its carved stone ornaments of crabs, turtles, shrimps

[p. 406 (~~XXX~~)]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

gods" (*dewa alit*) in the temple. To the regular yearly festival in honor of the gods of the temple was added this therapeutic function.[1]

The spatial arrangement of this temple and the shrines within it are an actual schematization of the thesis I have been presenting, namely, that from the Durga figure two themes have sprung, that of the horrific Rangda on the one hand and that of the graceful, child-like puppet figure on the other. The chief shrine in the temple, a single court, is a *gedong* (closed shrine) sacred to Durga. All the people know her name, and there is even a statue (*togog*) of her standing before it, dressed in the sacred black and white cloth and with red hybiscus flowers in the headdress. A large palm leaf panel bearing the Old Indonesian designs hangs down from the open doors of the shrine. To the right, on an open shrine called a *balé tadjock*, a Rangda mask is set out. To the left, on another type of shrine called a *balé pelik*, twelve small puppet-like "little gods," the *dewa alit*, are set out, also dressed in finery and with flowers. Opposite the Durga shrine is the open building, the *balé piasan*, which is where the Brahmana high priest does his ceremonial praying (*mcweda*, from *veda*). In the corner near the gate is a roofed building to house the *gamelan* orchestra. The gate is to one side of center, and immediately opposite it on the outside is a high temporary shrine called a *panggocngan*, customarily put up at calendric festivals for offerings to the demons. Across the outer square is an enormous banyan tree with a shrine under it, said to be for Banaspati Radja, king of the demons and identified in this area with the Barong. The entire temple, instead of being oriented north and south, that is, with *kadja* (the head) towards the mountains and *kelod* (the foot) towards the sea, has its "head" towards the sea and east, putting the small gods north and Rangda to the south.

Godly presences are in the temple only when they are invited to come down with prayers and the preparation of offerings. The shrines are shelters for them, guest houses. For the most part they are empty. When a figure, such as this one of Durga, is present it is as a representation, a statue, a *togog*, not a god figure, an "idol." Sometimes a sacred object, a precious stone, a carved figure or pair of figures, a pair of little painted faces, things of this sort will be kept inside the shrine as receptacles for the gods' presence when they come down. Such objects are called *artja*, but this term was not

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.45 -- Analyst]

[1] My field notes say: She told us that she promised to keep out the *dewa alit* for three days at this *odalan* if she got better. We remarked later that a great many members of her family took part in the ritual and dancing on the first day and on the last day, but on the last day she herself did not come. However, we have seen her since and she looks better (May 11, 1937).

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.*

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks*, living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks*, or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

* For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangă, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

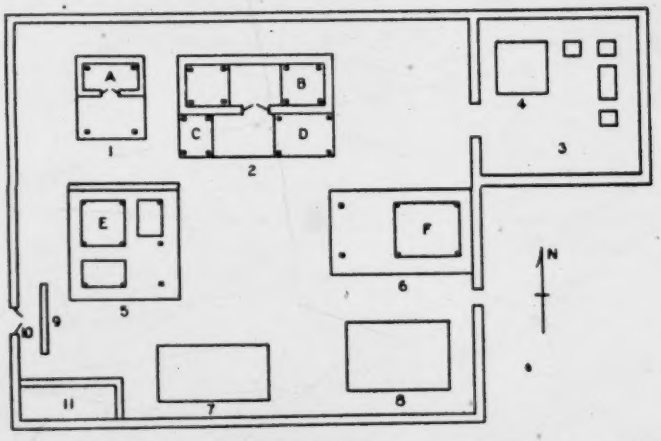

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Sākāpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangă, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adă; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé sākāpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.